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BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate. Vol. I. By A. H. J. GREENIDGE. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1904. Pp. xiv + 506. \$3.50 net.

This book constitutes the first instalment of a work which is to comprise six volumes and to cover the history of Rome from the beginning of the Gracchan period to the accession of Vespasian. The present volume brings the narrative down to the second consulship of Marius. The second and third volumes, as planned by the author, will carry us to the death of Caesar, and the last three will be devoted to the early Empire. The comparative neglect into which the serious study of ancient history has fallen among English-speaking peoples has been hard to explain. While German, French, Italian, and Austrian scholars have given it the attention which was its due, in England, and notably in America, scientific monographs and comprehensive treatises at first hand in this field of historical research have been lamentably few. But now, thanks to the work of men like Greenidge, Pelham, Dill, and Bury in England, and of Sanders and Ferguson in this country, there has been a marked renaissance of interest in the study of Greek and Roman public and private life. Greenidge's excellent treatise on *Roman Public Life* and his study of the *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* lead us to open his new book with lively expectations of pleasure and satisfaction; and our expectations are not doomed to disappointment, for the work is admirably done.

A résumé of the sources for the period under consideration was put out not long ago by the author in collaboration with Miss Clay, and can be conveniently used as a companion volume to the present work. This plan of publishing the sources separately allows the writer to restrict his footnotes to the passages from ancient authors which the reader of the source-book can not readily locate.

It is a noticeable thing that many of the extended investigations in the field of Roman history which have been written in English within the last few years, like the book before us and like the writings of Dill and Glover, have dealt with some period or with some particular phase of public or private life. The subject chosen for a work of the sort mentioned must have a unity which the reader will at once recognize, and of which the writer never loses sight. If a detached period is covered, it should be a crisis in human affairs, a period in which the old order of

things gives way to the new, and above all, if it is to arouse our liveliest interest, the social or political factors which are at work in it should be personified in *dramatis personae* few in number and clearly outlined. Does the period chosen by Greenidge satisfy these requirements? Undoubtedly it does both in the case of the entire projected work and of the volume before us. There are two separate dramas in the years 133–104 B. C. In the first the protagonist is Tiberius Gracchus, who retired from the stage to be succeeded in the principal rôle by his brother Gaius. The leading part in the second drama is taken by Marius. Civil strife at home forms the subject of the first portion of the narrative; foreign politics and a war abroad that of the second part.

To the narrative proper Greenidge has prefixed an introductory chapter, covering one hundred pages, in which he sets forth the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Rome and Italy toward the close of the second century before our era. No account is taken of political questions, although on p. 105, and elsewhere, the author recognizes the dual aspect—political as well as social—of the Gracchan movement. The omission is, to be sure, intentional, as we learn from the preface, and probably the author is right in assuming a reasonable knowledge of the political conditions of the time on the part of the average reader. A brief résumé of them, however, would seem to be desirable in so extended a work as this one is to be. This part of the book contains an admirable account—e. g., pp. 44 ff.—of the growth of industrial corporations, and of their struggles with the state, and is remarkably suggestive of modern conditions. In fact, many of the acute observations made by the author on the state of affairs two thousand years ago might, if taken out of their setting, seem to apply to twentieth-century questions. Such, for instance, is n. 3 on p. 54, and the author's comment on the same page, where, in speaking of the trader and the banker, he says that "a government which does not control the operations of capital is likely to become their instrument." In this connection we can not quite agree with the author in believing (cf. p. 34) that down to the middle of the first century B. C. the principle prevailed that "considerations of foreign policy should not be directly controlled or hampered by questions of trade," unless "directly" is used in a very restricted sense. The statement on p. 37 that the honest handling of public funds prevailed long after the most dishonest and extortionate treatment of the provincials was a common practice is undoubtedly true, and probably could be paralleled in modern times. On pp. 71, 72 an interesting explanation is given of the greater productivity of the provinces, notably Africa, as compared with Italy. Greenidge believes that the soil of Africa was not exhausted, and that a more scientific system of agriculture was employed there than was the case in Italy. These reasons, added to the greater ease with which grain could be shipped to Rome from Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia than brought

from the inland sections of Italy, account satisfactorily for the otherwise puzzlingly low price of that article in Rome and the consequent decline of Italian agriculture. One naturally wonders why greater attention was not given to market gardening, and the cultivation of the vine and oil. There were many great centers of population in Italy in need of these articles. Their cultivation ought, therefore, to have been profitable: it would have given a new lease of life to Italian agriculture, and a suitable occupation for the peasant proprietor and the free laborer, in whose interest so much of the Gracchan legislation was passed. On p. 78 the author notes a point in this connection which is often overlooked. The entire peninsula did not suffer in equal measure from the importation of foreign grain. The eastern part, being more remote from convenient harbors, was better off. That the Italian yeoman still held his ground here seems to be shown by the story of the Social War. Of the knights who played so important a part politically and economically in this period the author does not give us (e. g., p. 41) a clear enough conception.

The story of the Gracchan movement runs from p. 101 to p. 276. It contains an estimate of the personality and motives of the Gracchi, and an analysis and discussion of their legislative projects and of the significance of their political reforms. Greenidge's treatment of all these matters, save the last one, is excellent. His estimate now and then of the significance for the future of some of the political innovations of Tiberius or Gaius seems less satisfactory to the reviewer. We may note a few points under the heads mentioned above. The characterization of Tiberius which is given on p. 106, and of Gaius on p. 261, is very judicious. Three methods of dealing with the destitute are mentioned on p. 204. "They may be forced to work, encouraged to emigrate, or partially supported by the state." Emigration and state support were both tried by Gaius, as we know. Of the three methods mentioned the first seems to be the most promising one, and it seems strange that Gaius secured work from the state for the unemployed in only a desultory way (cf. p. 271). It is interesting to bear the fact in mind that to sell imported grain below the current market price was to introduce a system the reverse of our modern protective system. It amounted in effect to putting a tax on a home industry. On p. 222 the author notes that the indirect result of Gaius' law governing the assignment of consular provinces was to take the choice of provincial governors from the senate and put it in the hands of the people. This, the important result of the bill, is often overlooked. A very probable argument which Gaius may have urged in support of his measure to have Asian tax contracts let in Rome is suggested on p. 220 in the increased efficiency which would result. We can see no reason, however, for surmising with Greenidge (cf. p. 221) that Gaius' bill introduced "certain principles of remission." When the knights had made a bad bargain, they would undoubtedly

urge the senate for better terms. When a contract was favorable, there were no interested parties to clamor for a revision of the contracts. As such things went in those days, and as they go today, therefore, only contracts unfavorable to the tax-farmer would be subject to change. It is stated by most writers that any citizen condemned on a capital charge had the right to appeal to the people. Greenidge puts the necessary limitation on this too sweeping statement by noting (cf. p. 199) that appeal could not be taken from the judgment of the standing courts. This restriction was quite logical, since they, unlike the special senatorial judicial commissions, had been sanctioned by the people. The author's estimate of the position of the senate, on p. 144, is sound, but his statement on the preceding page that "the senate had no defences at all" may be easily misunderstood. It had no direct "military support," it is true, but the body of tradition behind it, its prestige, its *esprit de corps*, its influence over the magistrates, and its control of the appropriations entrenched it in a position which it would be hard to take. How effectively it could hamper the action of the popular assembly by refusing an appropriation needed to put a measure into execution is observed by the author himself on p. 128, and comes out clearly in the careers of the Scipios. On pp. 126, 127 the real significance of Tiberius' action in deposing his colleague is missed. The danger lay not merely in the possibility that "a few hundred desperate members of the proletariat" might override the wishes of "the vast outlying population of Rome," but to adopt the policy of removing a recalcitrant tribune would take away the check which held in restraint even a representative assembly carried away by a temporary outburst of passion or enthusiasm. The tireless activity of Gaius, his concentration of purpose, his versatility, his genius for administration, and his unselfish interest in the welfare of Italy and the provinces, all of which are happily set forth on p. 231, as well as the position which he held in Rome (cf. p. 232), remind one in a striking way of Julius Caesar; and if the author had not intentionally avoided anticipating the future, a brief comparison between the two men would have been very suggestive. It is strange that, with all the schemes for the social and political betterment of Italy and the provinces which these two men tried, they did not have recourse to the representative system. The favorable estimate which is made on pp. 156, 157 of the Asiatics and Greeks reminds one of the evidence which Dill has brought forward in his *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, to show that the rejuvenation of Rome and Italy under the Empire was due largely to the freedmen. The way in which Drusus outbid Gaius for popular support (cf. pp. 239, 240) recalls a similar political maneuver on the part of the Conservative party in England not many years ago. The author's characterization of one point in the oratorical style of Gaius contains an acute bit of literary criticism and deserves quotation.

"Gracchus," he says, "could tell a tale, like that of the cruel wrongs inflicted on the allies, which could arouse a thrill of horror without also awakening the reflection that the speaker was a man of great sensibility and had a wonderful command of commiserative terminology." We have dealt with the early, and to our mind, the more important, part of the book so fully that we cannot discuss in detail the author's treatment of the early career of Marius. Contrary to tradition, he assumes (cf. p. 301) that Marius was not a man of low origin.

By way of conclusion, a few points may be noted in connection with the style and language of the book. The narrative portions are particularly well done. The stories of the struggle between Tiberius and Octavius (pp. 119-25) and of the death of Gaius (pp. 139-43) are very effectively told. At many points, however, the book is not an easy one to read. Sentences frequently require a second perusal before their exact meaning is grasped. Of minor matters we should prefer "vocations" to "avocations" on p. 41; the phrase "relationship of clientship" (p. 303) is kakophonous; "revealed" on p. 72 seems to be a typographical error for "rivaled," and Marius can hardly have been said to "identify" himself with a cause (p. 306). There are some admirable political maxims in the book, one or two of which we cannot refrain from quoting: "The truth that a suzerain can not treat her subjects as badly as she treats her citizens may be morally, but is not legally, a paradox" (p. 154); "Of all political temperaments that of the moderate is the least forgiving, just because it is the most timorous;" "intellect which unconsciously used emotion as its mask." To the bibliography on pp. 487-89 may now be added the important article by Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte d. Gracchenzeit*, in the first *Beiheft* of *Beitr. zur alt. Gesch.* and Warde Fowler's *Notes on C. Gracchus* in the current and forthcoming numbers of the *English Historical Review*. Taken all in all, the book is the most interesting, as well as the most scholarly and judicious, history which we have of the closing years of the second century, and will make the reader eager for the volumes which are to follow.

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The Speeches of Isaeus. With Critical and Explanatory Notes.

By WILLIAM WYSE. Cambridge: University Press. 1905.

Pp. lxiv + 735. 18s. net.

The Introduction contains a full, readable, and precise account of the manuscripts and editions of Isaeus, and a list of *subsidia*. The text, handsomely printed, with critical notes, occupies pp. 1-174. The closely printed commentary occupies pp. 175-723. Three indexes cover eleven pages. The text seems a trifle less conservative than that of Thalheim (published by Teubner), which was passing through the printer's hands